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Points of Intellectual
Contact between England
And the Colonies During
The First Half of the
Eighteenth Century

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POINTS OF INTELLECTUAL CONTACT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND
THE COLONIES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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Evarts B. Greene

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF *History.*

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Chapter I.

Intellectual life pervades all phases of history, and in order to find points of intellectual contact between two countries, that is, what they have intellectually in common, all lines of activity must be studied. This paper then will have to do with literary interests, scientific thought, progress of general education, religious movements, political events to some extent, and social, industrial and commercial phases of life in so far as they have causal relations with those activities that are more strictly intellectual.

The first half of the eighteenth century, in a general way, is the provincial period of the English Continental colonies. They had become royal provinces and were governed by governors appointed by the crown. The political connection then between the two countries was close, and through this they were brought closer together in other ways. The royal governors were, on the whole, men of ability and experience and did much to widen the narrow life of the colonists and to keep them in touch with the civilization of England. The good of this kind that might have been accomplished was often hindered by the enmity that so frequently existed between the assemblies and the governors. But despite the political dissensions the governors had considerable influence upon the general tone of life in the colonies.

William Burnett¹ is an example of the affable, talented English gentleman as colonial governor. He came of a famous English family and was himself a man of education and wide reading. He had not been governor of New York long before he married a Miss Van Horn, daughter of one of the principle merchants of the colony, thus making other than mere official ties between himself and the people.

Joseph Dudley is another governor whose career is important. Dudley was American-born, was educated at Harvard, and went into politics. He became very unpopular on account of his connection with

1. Memorial History of Boston 54, 435. Valentine's History of New York City 256.

Leisler's death and so went to England and remained there from 1694 until 1701. Part of this time he was deputy-governor of the Isle of Wight and also for a short time a member of parliament.¹ He had many friends at the court, closest of whom perhaps was Sir Richard Steele, who said, "I owe many fine thoughts and the manner of expressing them, to my happy acquaintance with Col. Dudley."²

Sir Francis Nicholson was lieutenant-governor of New York and governor of Virginia, Maryland and of South Carolina. In the last two colonies he was the best-liked and most successful. He was in Maryland when the news came of Thomas Bray's plan of sending libraries to the colony. He proposed to the Assembly that some of the revenue set aside for furnishing arms and ammunition should be laid out in the purchase of books.³ He was governor of South Carolina from 1722 to 1724, and gave decided impetus to religion and education.⁴ Twelve years before when he was not in the colony at all he had contributed to the support of the provincial library.⁵

One of the most successful of the colonial governors was Alexander Spotswood, governor of Virginia (1710-1722). Not a scholar himself, he valued education, rebuilt William and Mary college that had burned and established mission schools for the frontier Indians. Hugh Jones writing in 1724 declared the "country altered wonderfully and far more advanced and improved in all respects since Col. Spotswood's Lieutenancy".⁶ Moreover, when he was no longer governor he settled permanently in the colony, founded the town of Germanna,⁷ was deputy postmaster general for North America and was an influential member of the colony.

1. Memorial History of Boston 332.

2. Ibid 334.

3. American Historical Review II. 66.

4. McCrady 66.

5. Ibid 482.

6. Present State of Virginia 53.

7. Dictionary of National Biography.

These colonial governors stand out prominently and show how capable royal governors, to some extent, brought the colonists in touch with the advancing ²civilization of England. Political relations between the two countries were made closer by the colonial agents. These were sometimes appointed for special services and their term of office was then over. Others were permanent agents and kept their positions for a longer period. The special agents were usually, if not always, Americans, and the permanent agents were mostly Englishmen of colonial sympathies, religious, political or commercial, or Americans residing in England. Some of the best known Englishmen who served as colonial agents were Sir Henry Ashurst, Peter Collinson, and Edmund Burke. All communications from the colonies to the English government passed through the hands of the agents. Their duties, of course, were chiefly concerned with political and industrial affairs, and they were a strong link between the two countries.

Some of the American colonial agents deserve special mention. Increase Mather was the special agent of Massachusetts when she was seeking the restoration of her charter. He was in England at the time of the Revolution of 1688, and cultivated, so far as possible, acquaintance with prominent men, both Dissenters and Anglicans.¹ He also tried to enlist public sympathy for the appeal of the colony through the public press.² Associated with Mather for a part of the time was Samuel Sewall.

A little earlier than this John Winthrop, the younger, was agent to London for Connecticut, as her charter was also threatened. Winthrop was a personal friend of Sir Robert Boyle, Watkins and other scholarly men who were just about to organize the Royal Society, "a society for promoting natural knowledge". On account of adverse

1. Memor¹² History of Boston 21.

2. Ibid 23.

conditions in England, and induced by their friendship for Winthrop, these men of science contemplated removing to New London, Connecticut and establishing their society in the New World. The patronage of Charles II., however,¹ decided them to remain in England. On account of the intercessions of these great leaders of science in behalf of Winthrop's cause the King was very generous indeed to the Connecticut colony.²

Probably the most famous, and surely one of the ablest of colonial agents, was Jeremiah Dummer, agent for Massachusetts for eleven years (1710-21)³ and for part of the time for Connecticut, also. Dummer was a graduate of Harvard, and had then studied at the University of Utrecht⁴ and remained abroad for several years. He returned to America but remained here only a short time, soon being appointed agent for Massachusetts. He was a cultivated scholar and became a great favorite with Queen Anne and an associate of Bolingbroke. Naturally he parted with his earlier notions of Puritan strictness and lived the gay court life, but at the same time he was faithful and discreet in serving the colonies.⁵ On account of his wide acquaintance and popularity he was able to be of great assistance to his native country, and his services culminated in his famous "Defence of the American Charters".

The cultured William Byrd of Virginia was agent and representative of that colony almost continuously from 1697 until 1726.⁶ He was on intimate terms of acquaintance with many people of consequence, and kept up his intimacy afterwards by correspondence.⁷

1. Tyler II. 311.

2. Palfreoy II. 539-40

3. Memorial History of Boston 82. 4. Palfreoy IV. 386.

5. Memorial History of Boston 83. 6. Life and writings of Col. Wm. Byrd

XLV.

7. Ibid LXXXI.

Commercial Relations: The commercial relations between England and her continental colonies was necessarily close. Notwithstanding the fact that there was considerable violation of the stringent Navigation Acts, the colonies still carried on the most of their commerce with their mother country. But their commerce did not stop there. Colonial merchants traded with Continental European countries to some extent, but more with the various groups of islands. Thus there developed something of a wealthy merchants aristocracy. These men were cosmopolitan too, rather than provincials. This cannot be said of all the wealthy merchants; for Peter Fan¹u¹il, although he acquired a fortune by his extensive trade, was never out of Massachusetts after coming there a small boy, and seems always to have been a mere tradesman. He was perhaps the exception. At least, the princely merchants of Charleston are said to have gone often to Europe to order their goods in person.²

The two best known of these Southern merchants were Isaac Mazyck and Gabriel Manigault. The former³ amassed his fortune during the last two decades of the seventeenth century by a trade that extended to the West Indies, the Barbadoes, England, Portugal, and the Madeira Islands. His son Isaac was educated and travelled in England, but he returned to America (1723) and went into partnership with his father. He re-visited England, at least once, but did not stay long. He was a prominent man in the colony being a member of the Assembly continuously for forty years.

Gabriel Manigault like the Mazycks was of Huguenot descent. He^{was} a contemporary of the younger Mazyck and was the wealthiest of all the South Carolina merchants.⁴ Probably not an educated man himself, he was active in all public enterprises, and was an especial friend of the Charleston Library Society.⁵

1. Weeden II 465-70

2. McCrady 537.

3. McCrady 401

4. Ibid 402.

5. Ibid 403.

Peter Sergeant¹ was a wealthy London merchant who resided in Boston from 1667 until 1714. He became prominently identified with the colony, held many offices, helped to depose Sir Edmund Andros, and married Gov. William Phips' widow.

Boston's most prominent merchant, however, was Thomas Amory². This citizen of the world at large, was born in Ireland, spent his early childhood in the Barbadoes and received his education at Dr. Bushby's famous Westminster School. Amory was given the solid classical training so that he wrote Latin with ease, and later he perfected himself in Portuguese, French, and Dutch until he spoke them fluently. He was apprenticed first to a French merchant in London, but he soon went into business for himself in the Azores. When he was thirty years old he was made English, French, and Dutch consul at Tercira. By 1719, having been successful in amassing a considerable fortune he proposed closing out his business in the Azores and settling in South Carolina, in which place his father had left him a great deal of land. He did not go directly to Charleston but made a tour of the Northern colonies first. He concluded that he preferred their climate to that of the South, so he settled permanently in Boston in 1720. He still had many business interests; a wharf and distilleries in Boston, saw-mills in Maine, besides trade with the West Indies, Carolinas, Europe and the Azores.³ He joined some of the clubs of the time in Boston, was active in all her affairs, and was proud of his adopted home.⁴

II.

1. Memorial History of Boston 90.

2. Weeden 565. 3. Ibid 570.

4. Ibid 554, 565, 570.

Ecclesiastical Relations: In some of the colonies the Anglican Church was tolerated with rather bad grace, in others it was decidedly favored, and in still others it was regularly established as the state church. Wherever the Anglican Church was, there existed a strong ecclesiastical relation between England and the colonies. The Lord Bishop of London had the appointing of the clergymen for the colonial church. There was usually a commissary for each colony, or at least, for every colony in which the church was at all strong. The work of this officer was to help establish and maintain the Anglican Church throughout the colony; in fact, to be the superior church officer of his appointed district. Dr. James Blair, commissary of Virginia, and Thomas Bray, of Maryland, were the best known of these commissaries. There was at one time some talk of forming a separate bishopric for America, but the project was never seriously considered. It was largely the idea of a prominent church man who was disappointed in his position at home.

The Anglican Church also had a rather strong influence over colonial education. In the colonies outside New England many of the school-masters were sent over under the auspices of the Church, and indeed were often clergymen. After 1700 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts seemed to have assumed much of the responsibility of the home church. The Society was petitioned for clergymen and teachers alike, and furnished both. In South Carolina the Society even initiated a number of free schools. Theoretically at least, the church had considerable control over William and Mary College. The Archbishop of Canterbury was Chancellor of the college, and the trustees were largely church men in England. Hugh Jones counted it very fortunate that upon "emergent occasions"

1. Present State of Virginia 66.
2. American History Review II. 61.
3. Works of Swift XII. 139.
4. McCrady 491.
5. History of Education in Delaware 25-36. Present State of Virginia 79.
6. McCrady 482.

the college could have recourse to such "Patronage and Direction". At the same time he acknowledged that these men were diverted by business affairs and were prevented by their inadequate knowledge, and by their long distance from the college and the colony, from rendering as efficient service as they otherwise could¹. King's College, New York was also, in a sense, an Episcopal institution and was closely connected with the church at home.

The Anglican Church was not alone in helping education. A striking illustration of this was in the middle colonies, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Education among the Dissenters there was largely in the hands of the Scotch Presbyterians. As in all new countries, teachers were few and the clergy commonly conducted private schools². In 1739 the Synod of Philadelphia took steps toward the establishment of college or seminary for the whole church. There were two parties within the church, however, and disputes caused delays. But finally several ministers decided upon acting independently of the ecclesiastical organization. The result was that Princeton College was chartered in 1746. Though not officially connected with the Presbyterian Church, the first board of trustees for the college was composed entirely of members of that denomination³, and the Presbyterian influence in its affairs was always very strong.

English enterprises for colonial education: The New World with its abundant opportunities for secular and religious instruction appealed very strongly to philanthropic people of England. There were two elaborate projects for educating and Christianizing the natives and the white settlers. The first of these was the scheme of Thomas Bray

1. Present State of Virginia 28.
Jersey 206.

2. History of Education in New
3. Ibid 213.

for furnishing libraries to all the parishes of America operating through the Society for the Propagation of the gospel; and the second was Bishop Berkeley's proposed college in the Bermudas especially for the education of Anglican clergymen. Thus these schemes were initiated by prominent church men and their objects were partly religious, but it seems better, on the whole, to treat them as educational phases of the topic.

¹
Thomas Bray was appointed commissary of Maryland in 1696. There was some delay before he could properly assume his new duties, but he was very active in the meantime laying plans and collecting funds for his future work. It was difficult, as a rule, to find many of the good clergymen willing to go to the New World, and Bray conceived the idea that if generous libraries were furnished the parishes, one inducement would be added to studious men. He wrote a pamphlet upon the subject, secured the endorsement of both archbishops and twelve bishops, and began his campaign. Requests were made to "learned authors" to donate copies of their works, and "merchants, especially those to the foreign plantations, to give money".

The plan also included libraries for the Deaneries of England, but as the work enlarged the home work was separated from the other and a separate society was formed for each. Lest the usefulness of the libraries should be limited to the clergy alone, lay libraries were planned for also, the books of which were to be loaned at the discretion of the minister. The catalogues of proposed books for both the parochial and the lay libraries included books in all branches of literature, though theology largely predominated. So successful was Mr. Bray in collecting funds and books that by the end of the year 1699, books to the value of £2400 had been sent to the

colonies.¹ There were a number of large gifts of as much as £300 and many smaller ones. Many gifts were from the nobility, and authors gave their own works as Bray had suggested in the pamphlet.

Bray himself came over to Maryland in 1700 but he did not stay long, thinking he could do more for the cause of the Anglican Church in the colonies, by working in England than in America. He was very zealous in his work for the colonies, up to the very time of his death (1726) and appointed successors to carry it on. Still the work flagged, though it was never entirely discontinued.

Naturally the most libraries were sent to those colonies in which the Anglican church was the strongest. Nearly every one of the thirty parishes in Maryland had a library, while the whole of New England had but three. The Middle colonies received a few more, and Virginia and South Carolina about the same. Some of the libraries, to be sure, were very small. In his first report Mr. Bray said that thirty libraries had been "advanced to some degree of perfection" and that a foundation of a few books had been made in some seventy others. As a matter of fact, probably half the parochial libraries sent out contained less than fifty books. Sometimes the lay libraries were sent out also, and of course, then each parish received about double the number of books it otherwise would. The Annapolis library was by far the largest and contained about eleven hundred volumes.

About 1724 Dean Berkeley first began to agitate his plan of a great Anglican college. He was such a prominent man, the best metaphysician of his time,² that it was inconceivable that he really intended to bury himself in the Western barbaric wildernesses. He was so enthusiastic upon the subject, however, that the project became rather common talk among the wits of the day, although their remarks

1. Ibid 63.

2. Frazer 14.

3. Frazer.

about going to Bermuda and the like were merely ironical. Still the people listened to Berkeley and contributed so liberally that within two years he had collected over £5000¹. Among the generous patrons of the plan were the Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Percival and Lady Betty Hastings. The amounts of the gifts were from £500 down.

In 1725 a patent for the college was issued, and the next year the large sum of £20,000 out of the St. Christopher's land fund was granted to the college. Everything seemed to be progressing finely and in the autumn of 1728 Berkeley with his wife and a few friends sailed for Newport² intending to make some preliminary arrangements and then to go on to Bermuda. But the St. Christopher fund, was indefinitely delayed, (purposely by Walpole) and so after three quiet years in Rhode Island, Berkeley returned to England³. Although his scheme of an ideal American University had failed, he still was able to do much for colonial education⁴ in money, books, but most all by his great influence.

These two were the only definitely organized enterprises for colonial education, but they were not the only instances in which generous friends in England contributed for that purpose. Not only were the Anglican colleges, William and Mary and King's helped but the others as well. Gifts of books and money had been made to Harvard from the time it was first founded and the practice was continued in the eighteenth century and extended to Yale also. During the second and third decades particularly, Yale received many contributions. They began in 1713 with the gift of Sir John Davie who had returned to England to claim an estate, and culminated in Berkeley's princely gift in 1733. Harvard at the same time received one from

1. Ibid. 107.

2. Ibid. 153.

3. Ibid. 186.

4. Ibid. 192 195.

the last source. Another liberal benefactor of Harvard, at least, was Thomas Hollis, a Baptist clergyman of England.

This interest manifested on the part of Englishmen in religious and educational enterprises in the colonies tended to unite the intellectual life of the two countries. Material conditions in America were such that the plans were not very successful and yet they did something to bring the people closer together.

Study and travel abroad: Not only did England send money, books, preachers and teachers to the colonies, but the two countries were brought in closer contact because the colonies, to considerable extent, sent their young men abroad to complete their education. Increase Mather took his master's degree from the University of Dublin¹. Paul Dudley studied law at the Temple², and Dummer on the Continent³. Three of the most eminent divines of New England, Thomas Prince, Benjamin Coleman, and Jared Eliot, made rather extended visits to England and the Continent⁴. They probably did not pursue definite study, but they were scholarly men and made travel in itself round out their educations. Coleman was in England four years, was well received by the most eminent dissenting ministers, preached in various places, and held a regular⁵ pastorate for a short time at Bath.

In the southern colonies the youth were not sent to England so much to finish their educations, but to receive it, foundation and all. William Byrd was sent to England when he was but ten years old⁶. Before he was twenty he was studying in Holland, probably under the supervision of Sir Robert Southwell. Later he entered the Middle Temple⁷ as a student of law and continued until 1695 or '6 when

1. Richardson 126.

2. Memorial History of Boston 351.

3. Palfrey IV. 386.

4. Memorial History of Boston 207 and Weeden

688.

5. Memorial History of Boston 207.

6. Life and Writ-

ings of Byrd XLII.

7. Ibid XLIV.

he was called to the bar. Sometimes children were sent to England at even an earlier age, the parents accompanying them, and remaining for part of the time their children were in school¹. The Pinkney family went to England when both the boys were under ten. They attended the Westminster school, and later Christ College, Oxford. Charles Cotesworth took a degree there and studied law at the Temple, but Thomas did not pursue his education so far. William Henry Drayton accompanied the Pinkney family to England, studied law in the Inner Temple and returned to South Carolina to practice his profession. Other Carolinians who were educated abroad were Isaac Mazyck, mentioned before, and Peter Manigault². The latter was called to the bar and practiced in England for a time. Subsequently he returned to Charleston, but he always signed himself Peter Manigault, Barrister of the Inner Temple.

Law was becoming more and more common as a profession in the colonies, and the prospective lawyers naturally went to England to pursue their studies. Statistics for the first half of the century are not to be had; but between 1759 and 1786 over one hundred Americans were admitted as members of the Inns of Court³. Nearly forty per cent of this number was from South Carolina, and these, at least, before they entered the Inns were scattered among the various seminaries of England. Most of them upon leaving their homes were recommended to the patronage and kindness of great Whig families, and some distinguished peers in the British Parliament⁴. As a part of their education they were encouraged to frequent the galleries of the Commons, and thus they knew something of the great political leaders.

But law was not the only profession which found favor with the Carolinians. In fact, the study of medicine probably developed

1. McCrady 495.

2. Ibid 475.

3. Ibid 475.

4. Ibid 477.

a little earlier. This was natural because of the number of eminent physicians in the colony who were natives of the Old World and educated there before coming to America. These were John Moultrie¹, Andrew Rutledge¹, John Lining², Lionel Chalmers³, and Alexander Garden⁴. This last was in the colony only from 1750 until 1783, but his influence within that time was great. He was a very learned man, having the philosophical and classical education of the University of Aberdeen besides his medical education at Edinburgh.

Under the impetus of such men as those named medicine was a favorite study. In 1734 William Bull⁵ received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Leyden. He was the first native American to take that degree, but in 1749 John Moultrie Jr. received the same degree from the University of Edinburgh. By that time it was becoming common for young men to serve an apprenticeship in medicine of four or five years, then go to Edinburgh and take a degree, and come back to America to practice⁶.

Thus it was rather an ordinary thing for provincials, of certain sections at least, to go abroad to study. As early as 1724 Hugh Jones wrote of Virginia⁷, "As for education, several are sent to England for it". The same was true until the end of the century, and not only true of Virginia but of the colonies farther south as well⁸.

Besides those who went to England to pursue definite study there were others who went abroad for other reasons. Robert Beverly said as early as 1705 that all the better people in Virginia had been abroad⁹. As has been said the merchants frequently went to order goods in person, and prominent men were often sent on political bus-

1. Ibid. 141.	2. Ibid 414.	3. Ibid 415.	4. Ibid 416.
5. Ibid 418.	6. Ibid 420	7. Present State of Virginia 45.	
8. McCrady 495.	9. Stedman and Hutchinson II. 270.		

iness. Benjamin Franklin found himself abroad when just a young man, though he had gone for none of these reasons. But during his eighteen months in England¹, he perfected himself in his trade, read a great deal, saw a good many plays, and became acquainted with such eminent men as Dr. Lyons, Dr. Mandeville, Dr. Pemberton, Sir Hans Sloane, and Sir William Wyndham.

Almost without exception these young men after completing their education returned to their provincial homes and became influential men in their several colonies. They were centers of the Old World's education and culture and exerted a leavening effect upon the communities in which they lived.

Chapter II.

The relations between the two countries have been considered as possible agencies of intellectual contact. The actual conditions in the colonies will reflect how much was effected through these agencies.

Education and Religion: Education followed the same general lines as it did in England. This was natural, for the provincials simply built upon the civilization they brought with them. All education at that time was allied closely with the dominant church of the state. In those colonies then that had the closer church relations with England, other things being equal, the schools and general education approached those of contemporary England. New England, on the other hand, tried to perpetuate Puritan England of the seventeenth century.

In the colleges the curriculum was chiefly the classics, philosophy, and divinity. William and Mary, for instance, as late as 1760 had only the following professorships; professor of the Indian school, of moral philosophy, mathematics, metaphysics, divinity, and of humnaity (classics). This last professor was the only one that had an assistant. Besides these was the president of the college whose only instructing consisted of delivering a stated number of theological lectures. The classics and divinity thus received by far the most attention. The course seems meager but Oxford and Cambridge² gave only the same general subjects though the details were doubtless worked out to a much greater degree of perfection. Hugh Jones said that as yet (1724) conditions in Virginia did not admit "the nice Methods of Life and Study observed in Oxford and Cambridge; though by Degrees they (the students in Virginia) may copy from thence many useful Customs and Constitutions".³ There is no means of knowing how far this half-prophecy of 1724 was realized, but tak-

1. Burnaby 714.

2. Palirey V. 217.

3. Present State of Virginia
27.



ing into consideration the close ecclesiastical relations between the college and the home church, one might be justified in concluding that so far as material conditions permitted the mental conditions of the older institutions were approached.

The curricula at the other colleges were the same as at William and Mary with the exception that the theology at Harvard, Yale, and New Jersey was of the dissenter's school instead of the Anglican as at the Virginia college and at King's. New England was jealous of any Anglican influence, and guarded carefully against it. Her colleges were not entirely successful, however, for some of the Anglican clergymen contributed of their own works to the colleges, and their gifts were not refused. In the large collection of books sent to Yale (1733) by Bishop Berkeley, the divinity books were mostly of the Anglican school.¹ The collection sent to Harvard was a "similar one" and the similarity doubtless held in that respect as in others. Besides, Thomas Hollis, one of Harvard's most liberal benefactors, in endowing the Hollis Divinity Fellowship (1727) stipulated that it should be open to others than merely Congregational students.

Another Anglicanizing influence in New England was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The library it sent to Boston was termed, "An admirable collection of the best books for the use of a scholarly theologian of the Anglican school". Sentiment throughout New England was rather hostile to this Society which was accused of diverting funds contributed for the instruction of Indians for the purpose of proselyting the Anglican church among the colonists.²

Some converts to the Episcopal Church were, of course, made. The most conspicuous of these was Timothy Cutler, Rector at Yale College (1722). Cutler went to England and was ordained an Episcopal Doctor of Divinity. He returned to Boston and wanted to sit as

1. Frazer 195.

2. Memorial History of Boston 213.

overseer at Harvard. The matter caused considerable dissension, for although Harvard was steadily growing more liberal she was not ready for such a decided movement as that. In 1723 Christ Church, the second Episcopal Church in Boston, was built, and Cutler was rector there for many years.

So whether they would or no, the new England colleges were brought into contact with the later England, the broader England that had superseded the Puritanic period of the settling of Puritan colonies.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was the missionary organ of the Church. Its work was largely educational, but it often sent missionaries who were both teachers and preachers. The first Anglican minister was sent to Pennsylvania in 1700. In two years he had a congregation of five hundred and petitioned the Society for a stipend. The parish was granted £50 for a minister and £30 for a school-master.¹ In 1711 the vestry at New Castle, Delaware petitioned the Society for a school-master and in 1729 Sussex County did the same. Col. Frederick Jones of North Carolina desired one of the ministers of Virginia to communicate to the Bishop of London the conditions in the former colony and to assure him that if the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would but direct and contribute the local government would do its part² to maintain any work begun.

In South Carolina in 1711 through the help of this Society a number of free schools³ were established. In 1722 Gov. Nicholson's instructions provided that teachers coming from England had to be licensed by the Bishop of London, and others by the governor himself. As a matter of fact practically all the teachers were from England. Many were clergymen.⁴ One would go into a new country, and would be

1. History of education in Delaware 35.
ia 79.

3. McCrady 482

2. Present State of Virgin-

4. Ibid 491.

both preacher and teacher until the work was large enough to be divided and he could get a helper.

Another educational feature of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the parochial and lay libraries that it sent out. To be sure, the books were mostly of a theological nature, but there were always some books of a general character. The library in Rhode Island contained seventy-two books of divinity, and one geography, two dictionaries, one Greek grammar, and one on gardening. Thus about fifteen per cent were secular. What records are left in other places show about the same proportions among the different subjects, though the one at St. James, Maryland had twenty-five secular books out of the whole number, one hundred and fifty. All in all, the library at Bathtown, Pamlico, North Carolina was the most representative one of which there is a record. It contained one hundred and sixty-six volumes. Among them are enumerated eleven works of history and travel; two of geography; three, mathematics; three, natural history, three, heraldry, three, biography; four, ancient classics; four, grammar and languages; five, dictionaries; three books of essays; two on sports; one, medicine; one, mythology; and one of poetry (Hudibras). Twenty-two per cent of this library, then, was secular, and the remaining seventy-eight per cent religious.

The royal governors as a rule were patrons of learning and did much to encourage the cause of education. This was very true of Joseph Dudley. In bestowing commissions he uniformly gave preference to graduates of colleges and other men of learning. He had preached for a short time in his early career, and was still interested in ecclesiastical affairs. While governor he sometimes lectured to the clergy on divinity, philosophy, and textual criticism. Upon his death, the Boston News-letter, notwithstanding the fact that, politically there had been considerable opposition to Dudley, said of him

"he truly honored and loved the Religion, Learning, and Virtue of New England, and was the worthy Patron and Example of them all". Gov. Burnet was accessible to all classes and so had a wide sphere of influence. Learning from the captain of a boat lying over in the New York harbor that one of his passengers had a considerable number of books with him,¹ Burnet made inquiries and sent for the passenger. Franklin, for it was he, recorded, "The governor showed me his library and we had much conversation of books and authors". Burnet was governor of Massachusetts after leaving New York, but for a much shorter time. Still he accomplished some things for the colony in a literary way. The re-printing of one of Dean Swift's books in 1728 was promoted by him,² and a series of literary essays in the New England Weekly Journal of 1729 have been attributed to this governor.³ Gov. Belcher came to New Jersey in 1747 when the New Jersey College was little more than a name. He took an active interest in the project⁴ at once, and in 1748 prepared a new and far more liberal charter than the original one had been. Thus the governors were often able to give at least material help to education in the colonies.

South of Virginia there was no college during the provincial period. Still education was not wholly neglected. Many of the youth were sent to England for their education. As has already been mentioned, and in Charleston at least, there were boarding schools, private teachers and tutors. Nearly every subject was taught. After 1712 Latin, Greek, and English were taught, French and music after 1733, dancing after 1734 and drawing after 1736.⁵ This is more of a polite or purely cultured education than the northern colleges⁶ gave.

Lectures were also somewhat common in Charleston and were a part of the educational forces. The South Carolina Gazette has

1. Franklin Auto-Biography 74.

2. Palfrey IV. 384.

3. Memorial

History of Boston 400.

4. History of Education in New

Jersey 217.

5. McCrady 491.

6. Memorial History of Boston 413.

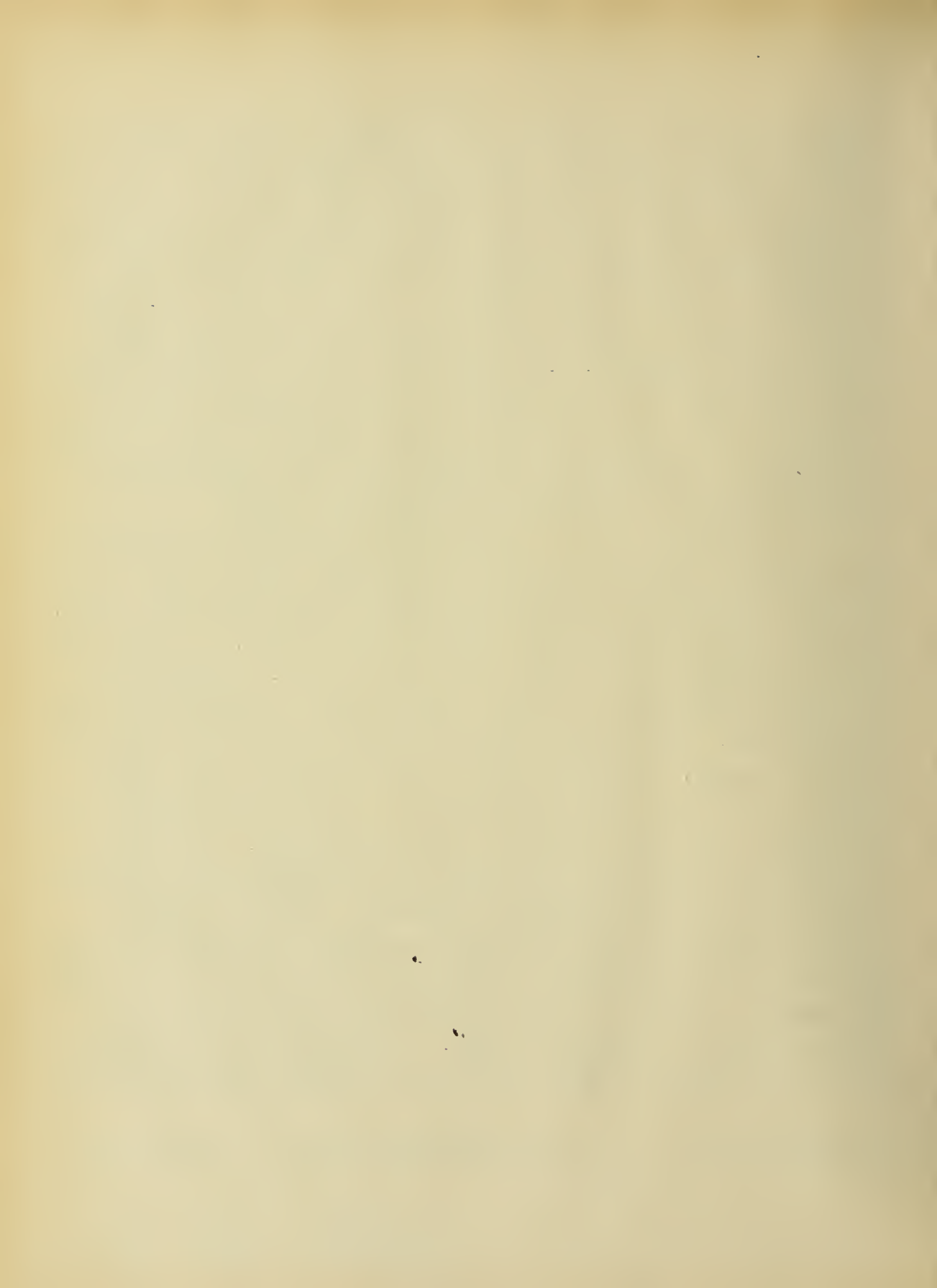
¹ many announcements of lectures, such as these. A Mr. Anderson lectured on Natural Philosophy (1739); Samuel Domjen, having in his travels in Europe studied and made wonderful experiments with electricity, announced that he would give public experiments at a certain tavern Wednesday and Friday afternoons, and when desired would show experiments at private houses (October 31, 1748); in 1752 a Mr. Evans gave two courses of lectures on Philosophy, lecturing every day but Sunday; Robert Skeaday A. B. in 1754 gave a course on Natural Philosophy, including within his subject astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics, and optics; and in 1765 Mr. William Johnson advertised a course of lectures on electricity, the explanation of the lightning-rod, with all the latest experiments, Franklin's and others.

Pennsylvania had no college until the middle of the century, but she had an excellent substitute in the Junto Club. This was formed about 1730 and had a continuous existence for nearly forty years.² It was a school of philosophy, morality, and politics. A great variety of subjects were discussed, and very ably too. Queries were announced a week ahead so that the members might be reading and thinking upon them. The limited number of books available for study was felt very keenly. Benjamin Franklin, who became the most famous member of the Club, conceived the idea of a subscription library. A canvass was made which resulted in fifty subscribers. The books were ordered through Peter Collinson, an Englishman of wide interests and a patron of all enterprises of learning. He was in sympathy with the project and sent a note expressing his friendliness and his appreciation of the project, as well as two extra books put in at his own expense. The first books were received in 1732, and were a great incentive to reading and study.³ "Reading became fashionable", and as for himself, Franklin said that the library furnished him the

1. McCrady 492-3.

2. Auto-Biography 141-3.

3. Ibid. 140.



means of improvement by constant study.¹ The library was augmented by donations and seems to have flourished from the first.

The membership of the Junto Club was limited to twelve, so after all it could not wholly take the place of a regular college. There were often inquiries for admission upon the part of those desiring social and intellectual fellowship, but the original number did not care to open their doors farther. Instead they undertook to establish a number of similiar subsidiary clubs.² Each member was to organize a club similar to the parent Junto. All these subsidiary clubs were to be kept secret from each other, but the progress of each was to be reported in the Junto. Five or six of these secondary clubs were fairly successful, so that the influence of the original club was very much extended.

A few years later (1744) the American Philosophy Society was organized.³ Franklin was the leader in it also, and of the nine original members six, at least were members of the Junto Club. The one was an outgrowth of the other, if not an organic continuation. Finally both of these clubs were associated with Franklin in the founding of the Pennsylvania College.⁴

There was another philosophical society in America of even an earlier date. This was the Society of Knowledge and Virtue organized in Newport, Rhode Island during Bishop Berkeley's visit there. (1730)⁵ It did not attract much attention, however, nor wield much direct influence until after 1747 when Abraham Redwood left £500 "to purchase a Library of all the Arts and Sciences".⁶ As a matter of fact, most of the books purchased were classical and theological, those being the lines of study "chiefly pursued by scholars" of the day. The Redwood Library was very famous from that time on. It was attractive enough to induce Dr. Ezra Stiles to fix his residence in Newport.

1. Ibed 170.

2. Ibed 200.

3. Auto-Biography 213.

4. Ibed 224.

5. *Weeden II* 527

6. *Report of Bureau of Education 1876* 16

The interest and pride taken in the library is shown in the fact that the town subscribed £5000 for a building which was completed in 1748.

In the other colonies there was nothing exactly similar to these organizations, but the Charleston Library Society¹ served the same purpose in one respect, that is, the impetus given to general education by the founding of a library. Seventeen young men of Charleston associated together to raise funds to procure new pamphlets and magazines from England. Within a year they had organized with one hundred and sixty members and had arranged to acquire books as well as pamphlets. There was delay in securing an act of incorporation, but this being obtained in 1755, the society flourished from then on. The library received regular additions from annual purchases and frequent individual donations. Not much is known as to the character of the books, but the minutes of the Society show that considerable discussion took place as to the proportion of funds that should be expended for classics. The scope of the Society's plan extended to the endowment of an academy² to encourage men of literature and the better to instruct the youths in the branches of a liberal education.

Other libraries sprang up simultaneously almost with these. The Providence Library³ was established in 1753 and one in New York in 1754.⁴ A number of men in New York felt the lack of books in their town so clubbed together and in a few days had raised £600 which was expended for "new well-chosen books". The Winyaw Indigo Society, begun in 1740 as a mere social club, by 1755 had established a school⁵ and had begun the accumulation of a library.

All over the colonies there seemed to be this craving for books. The colleges probably felt it from the first of the century

1. Report of Commissioner of Education 1876.

2. McCrady 511.

3. Report of Commissioner of Education 1876.

4. Ibid 14.

5. Ibid 13.

as President Blair of William and Mary in a letter to England in 1723, said that a library was the chief want of the college.¹ But during the third and fourth decades there seemed to be a general awakening and a renewed desire for the learning that books could give. The Bray libraries had been premature, perhaps, for in some instances they had been completely lost after the first ten years.²

In New York there had been two abandoned collections of books, one presented in 1700 by a Rev. John Sharp, chaplain of Lord Bellamont and the other in 1729 from an Anglican clergyman in England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These books were seemingly forgotten, but when the new library was founded there in 1754 these old collections were donated to it.³ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was almost inactive during the second quarter of the century as but four new libraries were sent out between the time of Bray's death (1726) and the War of Independence,⁴ and but few accessions were made to those already established. But books the people were determined to have, it seemed, and so they formed their own library societies.

The Reading of Contemporary English Literature: Transfer of thought takes place naturally with reading. The provincials could keep in touch with intellectual life in England by reading what the English people did, and especially by reading contemporary English literature. Some of the colonists did this more, perhaps, than would at first be surmised. In 1714, for instance, through the influence of Jeremiah Dummer, the following authors contributed of their own works to Yale College: Richard Steele, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Bentley, Dean Kennet, Matthew Henry, Edmund Calamy, and Sir Richard Blackmore, poet laureate at the time.⁵ Some of these names are not very familiar now, but

1. *Ibid* 26. 2. McGrady South Carolina as a Royal Province 510-12.
3. Report of Commissioner of Education 14. 4. American History Review II. 75.
5. History of Education in Connecticut 75.

they were contemporary eighteenth century writers.

In 1723 a Mr. Daniel Turner¹ of London sent some of his own works on Physic and Chirurgery and a collection of other valuable books upon the same subjects, and a large volume of Cowper's anatomy besides. In return the trustees sent him a diploma from the college conferring upon him the title, Doctor of Physics.

Of the books sent by Berkeley² probably the largest number were Greek and Roman classics, for they occupied the most prominent places in any collection. Divinity books rank next and these were mostly Anglican and were doubtless the latest and best. Modern philosophy was represented by Bacon (1561-1628) and Locke (1632-1704) of the first and second halves of the seventeenth century respectively, and Berkeley himself from the eighteenth. Newton, Pemberton, and Keil were the most important mathematicians. No authors were mentioned as representatives "in the long list of books in natural history and medicine." In subjects so popular, however, the works of, at least, the men down to 1700, such as Boyle, would surely be included.

The list of poets is a fairly comprehensive one. Spenser, (1552-99) Ben Jonson (1573-1637), and Shakespeare (1564-1616) represent the sixteenth century. Milton, Cowley, Butler, Waller, and Dryden fall wholly within the seventeenth century though from the first to the last there was the tremendous change from the Puritan type to the cool, polished, rational form of the Restoration period. Besides these writers of the preceding generation, there were included Steele, Prior, Blackmore, Pope, and Swift whose activities fell entirely within the eighteenth century. Indeed the two last were still writing at the time the donation was made.

1. Report of Commissioner of Education 1876 29.

2. Frazer Life of Berkeley 195 n.

In the fourth and fifth decades Yale did not seem to receive so many gifts from England and so it is not surprising that Rector Glapp¹ should say in 1765 that although there were "many valuable modern books on Divinity, History, Philosophy, and mathematics there are not many authors who have written within these thirty years".

Harvard and William and Mary do not show as full records as does Yale, so that the contents of their libraries can scarcely be gauged. Queen Anne and the first two Georges are said to have contributed books to the latter, but its library was very small until 1743 when Dr. Blair bequeathed his own private collection of six or seven hundred volumes to the college. If Harvard contained any contemporary literature before 1764 when her library was destroyed by fire, it was not considered worth mentioning in the broadside of the library contents that was issued subsequently. To be sure, the works of Boyle and Newton are mentioned, but anything akin to the so-called polite literature is not noted in the abstract of the books. Not that they were entirely wanting probably, but because they were few in number and very unimportant compared with the Greek and Roman classics, the Hebrew collections, and other kindred subjects. It is known that there was no copy of Shakespeare in the Harvard Library until after 1709, or of Milton until 1720². But even these facts do not signify that the colony was not in intellectual contact with England, because Shakespeare at that time was not the acknowledged master-poet he is to-day³.

The libraries of King's, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania colleges were so new as to be hardly worth considering. Two of the subscription libraries, however, should be noted. The first intention of the Charleston Society was only the acquisition of current pamphlets. Books were soon included however, and probably assumed the

1. Report of Commissioner of Education 1876, 29.

2. Memorial His-

tory of Boston 413.

3. Eggleston 1.

more conspicuous place. At least the minutes show discussions as to the proportion of funds to be devoted to classic literature. The contents of the Philadelphia Library reflect in a general way, the taste of the members of the Junto Club, and ~~practically~~^{fully} of Benjamin Franklin¹. The amount of polite literature was small, and of theological and controversial tracts there was scarcely one. Travels, science, philosophy, natural history, and the mechanic arts were well represented. The subjects of the discussions in the club would indicate that in philosophy and the physical sciences particularly, ~~were~~ the members thoroughly abreast with the best European thought.

There are occasional lists of books in wills and inventories that indicate the kind of literature that was read. James Logan had the largest private library in Pennsylvania. His books as enumerated in his will show a great preponderance of Greek and Latin authors, but there are also the modern mathematicians, three editions of Newton, Dr. Watts, Halley and others². John Winthrop, the younger, of Connecticut had the latest works upon the subjects of physical sciences³ in which he was so deeply interested. Among his scientific books were works dating from the middle of the seventeenth century. These were new books for the time, because there was not the multitude of writers that there are to-day. The library of John Eliot of Harvard (1719) consisted of two hundred and forty three volumes, mostly old histories, sermons, and a few works on medicine and law. There were, however, two volumes of the Tatler⁴, almost the first Queen Anne literature to be found in New England. Among other remembered titles were works of Calvin, Bacon, and Baxter, of the preceding centuries, and the ancient classics.

1. Report of Commissioner of Education, 1876, 9.

2. Report of Commissioner of Education, 1876, 6.

3. Aggleston 89.

4. Weeden II. 546.

Booksellers undoubtedly kept the books for which there were demands. A catalogue issued by one book seller in Boston (1734) is suggestive.¹ It included books on divinity, medicine, geography, history, mathematics, and the classics, between eight and nine hundred titles in all. Among the poets, dramatists, divines and historians represented, six lived wholly within the seventeenth century, while sixteen belonged to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Moreover, Southern, Pope, and Swift, who are three of the sixteen, were still alive in 1734 when the catalogue was published.

The collected writings of Locke and of Addison were offered, but in most instances there were only one or perhaps two volumes of the various authors. Thus several works of Dryden, Steele, and Swift are mentioned, but only *Hubibras* by Butler and the Translation of the *Iliad* by Pope. Shakespeare and Milton were not mentioned at all. It seems strange that Milton who was one of the staunchest Puritans in England was so little read in New England, the last stronghold of Puritanism.

In a list of books printed in America before the Revolution² the whole number of reprints of English publications down to 1741 was only about twenty. Palfrey names twelve of these with the date of the reprint. Six were works by distinctively seventeenth century men, as Baxter, Taylor, and Bunyan; one by a writer of unknown date; and five by writers of the contemporary period. The most important of these last were Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with Deists*, 1719, Watts' Version of the Psalms reprinted in 1729, and one of Swift's books in 1728. From that time on (1741) the practice of reprinting English publications probably increased more rapidly. Three years later Richardson's *Pamela* was reprinted only two years after it had come out in England.

1. Palfrey IV. 384,

2. Palfrey V. 218.

The south is generally understood to have had closer social and commercial relations with England than did New England, and one would infer that it had a better acquaintance with her contemporary literature. In all the colonies south of New England the polite literature of the day did not have to combat the strong seventeenth century Puritanism of the Dissenters. As many of the southern youth were sent to Europe to be educated, those, at least, surely had a knowledge of the current poetry and plays.

The only library, the contents of which is known accurately is that of William Byrd¹. It contained about four thousand volumes and was a very comprehensive collection. It included modern history and travels, Boyle's works in chemistry and Ray's in botany, and books on astrology, medicine, gardening and animal husbandry. Among the strictly literary writers are the earlier names, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher and others. The seventeenth century is represented by Milton, Cowley, Locke and Dryden. The eighteenth century essayists are represented by sets (complete or partial) of the Tatler, the Guardian, and the Spectator, but there is no mention of Pope, Thomson, and their associate poets, nor of the first novelists, Fielding, Smollet and others of the school.

Besides the bare lists of books there are personal references that show some acquaintance with the eighteenth century literature. Franklin read one volume of the Spectator² about 1721 or 2. This was his first taste of that style of literature³, but in 1730 he quotes from Addison's Cato and one of Thomson's poems. He read a great deal while in England and very possibly these quotations might be from something he had read while there. Before he left Boston at all he read some arguments purporting to refute the claims of the Deists. This might be Leslie's book on the subject which had been

1. Writings of William Byrd 413-443.

2. Franklin's Auto-Biography

3. Ibid. 181.

reprinted in New England just about that time.

Pope was known to some extent in America, for the verses of the day have allusions that show some familiarity with his poems. A Francis Knapp of Watertown is credited with a poetical address (1715) to Mr. Pope on his Windsor Forest. There is a letter extant, too, from Mather Byles of Boston to Alexander Pope. It is full of extravagant praise making specific mention of the Guardian, Windsor Forest, the Rape of the Lock, and the Translation of the Iliad. The letter goes on to say that he has enclosed specimen poems that he (Pope) may see "the improvement among us in the Study of the Muses under your influence". The acquaintance thus begun between Pope and Byles was continued and Byles was sent a copy of the Odyssey.¹

Benjamin Colman was a widely read man and in his sermons often referred to eminent English clergymen,² and, at least once, in his election sermon of 1718, quoted from Richard Steele.³ Colman was the friend and correspondent of Bishop Kennett, Dr. Watts, and of Mrs. Rowe. The latter was the wife of the poet Thomas Rowe and herself a somewhat distinguished writer of prose and verse, writing under the pseudonym, "Phiomela". Colman had become deeply attached to her while he was in England, and continued his correspondence with her for a long time. She rejected the suit of Matthew Prior and afterwards married Rowe.⁴

Dr. Watts, the famous hymn writer, was rather well-known in America. He carried on a friendly correspondence with Mather Byles and sent him his books as fast as they were printed.⁵ He also corresponded⁶ with Benjamin Colman, Gov. Belcher, Dr. Boylston and Cotton Mather. In a letter to the latter in 1717 he sent some verses, "fruits of some easy hours this last year".

1. Memorial History of Boston 427.

2. Tyler II. 174.

3. Palfrey IV. 384.

4. Tyler II. 173.

5. Memorial History

of Boston 427.

6. Ibid 430-31.

In the Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas Pinkney there are references that show a knowledge of eighteenth century England. She noted that she had seen the comet that Newton had foretold would appear in 1741. One letter¹ shows that Parnel's poem The Hermit has been under discussion between herself and Col. Pinkney. Another letter not dated,² presumed written in 1742 and certainly before 1744, she commented upon the story of Pamela and said, "I am sending by bearer the last volume to Mrs. Pinkney". The last of Pamela had only appeared in 1742.

The newspapers and periodicals made rapid progress in the colonies from the second decade on, and were very important factors in bringing England and the colonies closer together. The first newspaper was established in Boston 1704. This was the famous Boston News-Letter. For about twenty years it was little more than a compressed reprint of the London papers.³ The important State papers were reprinted as they were issued, the progress of the European wars, and great events in the world at large were regularly though tardily recorded. The first papers in the other colonies were the same type.⁴

These supplied the political and general news, to be sure, but the editors became more ambitious, or their readers made larger demands. The Weekly Rehearsal (Boston 1731) sometimes printed essays from the best sources.⁵ The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle (Boston 1743-6) was modeled upon the London Magazine and aimed to supply its intelligent readers with the best thought and literature. Much of the matter in it was original, but some was copied directly from European sources. Franklin considering his Philadelphia Gazette as a means of communicating instruction "frequ-

1. Ibid II.

390.

Biography. 145

2. Ibid 18.

4. McCrady 506. Valentine 295. Franklin Auto-

5. Memorial History of Boston 400.

3. Memorial History of Boston

ently reprinted in it extracts from the Spectator and other moral writers¹".

Probably more than the regular newspaper, the annual almanacs helped to disseminate culture and learning among the colonists. Almanacs were published even in the seventeenth century,² but did not reach their greatest development until well along in the next. At first they were much the same as the conventional European almanac, made up mostly of astrological prophecies. Gradually there were added bits of history, verse, proverbs, and jests.

The two most famous almanacs were those of Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, and Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac. The first³ was published continuously from 1623 until 1674, and the second from 1732 until 1755, and had after it was well established an annual circulation of ten thousand. The authors of both these publications had the spirit of public educators and they put into their almanacs choice fragments from the best literature. Franklin borrowed from Bacon, Rabelais,⁴ Rochefoucauld, Steele, DeFoe, Swift, and others, while Ames quoted from Addison, Pope, Butler, Thomson, Dryden, and Milton.

Newspapers and periodicals first became an important factor in England during the early part of the eighteenth century. What has already been said of the colonial editors copying from the newspapers and the London Magazine would show that they were fairly well-known in the colonies. In 1731 the Gentleman's Magazine was first published. It was a comprehensive periodical and covered practically all the interests of the day. This also was read to some extent in America.⁵ Communications from the colonies were not infrequent and sometimes these referred to items that they had read in previous numbers of the Magazine.

1. Auto-Biography .

2. Wendell 79. Tyler II. 120.

3. Tyler II. 122.

4. Tyler II. 123.

5. Gentleman's Magazine 22: 208, 560.

Colonial Literature: If then, the colonists had some knowledge of the prevailing literature of England limited though it was, that knowledge must in turn have influenced their own literary attempts. It was not an age of great literature in England. Her greatest achievements of the century were in scientific pursuits, commercial enterprises, and military successes. Still the literature, if not the greatest, had an individuality of its own that was bound to make itself felt. There was a great deal written in America, particularly in New England and a considerable part of it was published. Down to 1700 it was practically all sermons, tracts, or something written for theological controversy, and was not, and did not pretend to be literary in character. This gradually changed and Whitcomb's chronology of literature published between 1700 and 1775¹ gives only about fifteen per cent as decidedly religious, about the same as historical, twenty per cent as political and an equal amount posing as literature, with the remainder made up of scientific work, periodicals and the like.

Though the religious writings were in much smaller proportion than formerly, they were still a very important part of the whole, and of that published down to 1763 would exceed in amount and quality the political writings. Down to that time by far the ablest men in New England were in the ministry. The best known of these New England clergy are the Mathers, Increase and Cotton, Thomas Prince, Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Colman and Mather Byles.

The Mathers were seventeenth century men to all intents and purposes, that had somehow gotten into a later period than their own. Their ultraconservative or Puritanic views were not those of the leaders of Massachusetts for the elder Mather was removed from the presidency of Harvard college in 1701, and so ended to a large degree, the public leadership of both himself and son. Cotton Mather² is one of the two or three pre-revolutionary men famous in a literary way. He wrote a great deal but nothing worthy the name of literature. 1. Wendell 78. 2. Wendell 46.

ature. He has been called "the last and most disagreeable representative of the Fantastic school"¹. His writings are full of strained analogies, unexpected images, and pedantry. His style was distasteful to his contemporaries, but he persisted that it was "the best way of writing".

In marked contrast to Cotton Mather's clumsy, ornate style is that of Benjamin Colman. His sermons are "fluent, polished, modern in tone, Addisonian, with a rich and ample movement"². His literary manner was formed by the study of English literature. In all his writings there was a tolerance and a breadth of view that was unusual then. "It is indeed best to err on the charitable side", was his view. He was not a weak sentimental character, but was firm without dogmatism. He stood staunchly by Dr. Boylston in the inoculation controversy.³ He sent the first invitation to Whitefield to visit America⁴ and steadily resisted the animosities that grew out of the revivals.⁵

Jonathan Edwards was mentioned as one of the foremost ministers of New England. He was more than that, he was America's first, and is still perhaps, her greatest philosopher. He was such an independent thinker that one can scarcely tell wherein he is indebted to his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. At the age of fourteen he read Locke greedily but at the same time critically, and that writer's stimulating influence is evident⁶ more or less in Edwards' writings.

Edwards was a philosopher of the Berkeleian school, too. As early as 1719 he showed an acquaintance and acceptance of Berkeley's new views. It is not known, but probably Berkeley's books that had

1. Tyler II. 87.
422.

2. Ibid. 174.
4.

3. Memorial History of Boston
5. Ibid 423.

6. ~~American Historical~~ Review 128 : 287.

come out about ten years before, were in the Yale Library or in the private possession of some one in connection with the college. He did not become personally acquainted with Berkeley when the latter was in America, though Samuel Johnson another Connecticut clergyman and a keen thinker, visited Berkeley several times and was a convert to the "New Principle" launched by the English philosopher.¹

As a theologian Edwards was a Calvinist of the deepest dye, and he brought to the defense of that theology his unsurpassed ability as a logician. He had no sympathy with the more moderate English Calvinist leaders, as Watts and Doddridge,² but carried out the doctrines of the sect to their ultimate conclusions.

Thomas Prince shared with Cotton Mather the reputation of being the most learned man in New England of the eighteenth century.³ Besides his education at Harvard Prince travelled eight years abroad and had thus a wide acquaintance with life outside of books. Though pastor of South Church for forty years and an able theologian, he was also a diligent student in philosophy, science, literature and history.⁴

It is as an historian that Prince is chiefly remembered. His Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals (1736) was a genuine piece of historical work and the best published in America up to that date. His aim in all he presented was accuracy and fairness.⁵ His history is largely just the bare facts, but it is trustworthy. His name is also closely associated with The New England Journal⁶ a newspaper of a semi-literary character established in Boston in 1727. He was one of the counsellors and advisors, and an occasional contributor. Besides he did almost all the writing for

1. Frazer, 174.

3. Tyler II., 144.

5. Tyler II., 146.

North American
2. ~~American Historical~~ Review, 128 : 293.

4. Memorial History of Boston 426.

6. Memorial History of Boston

the Christian History (1743-45) which grew out of the Whitefield revivals.. It is important now for the personal biographical sketches it contained and the just representation of an important phase of the life and spirit of the time.

Mather Byles was credited as one of the chief editors of the Weekly Journal. He was renowned as a wit, a poet, man of letters, theologian, and a pulpit-orator. He had considerable literary facility and wrote the regular Popean verse with ease. This skill he turned to good advantage in phasing and modulating his prose. His sermons were marked by fresh and striking views of things, by courtesy of tone, and by common sense. He consciously studied to make his style as pleasing as possible. With such a man as he in the editorial chair no wonder the essays of the Weekly Journal were of "much literary merit"¹ graceful and sometimes humorous.² Pope with whom he corresponded, was delighted with what he was pleased to call his vivacity and genius.³

This New England Weekly Journal (1727) gave some little attention to news but was devoted in the main to literary attempts. In one of the early numbers the editor took the name of Proteus Echo Esq. and sketched the members of the society that was purported to contribute the essays,⁴ - ~~a~~⁵ plan directly borrowed, doubtless, from Addison's famous Spectator Club. The characters were probably fictitious, but the young, ambitious provincial writers imitated the form and spirit of the English essays with some ingenuity and success.

The weekly Rehearsal (1731) was a still more ambitious attempt,⁵ in that it aimed to be more purely literary. Jeremiah Gridley and Thomas Fleet were successively its editors. The former showed an excellent appreciation of the Queen Anne writers and possessed an

1. Memorial History of Boston 400.

2. Ibid 398.

3. Ibid 427.

4. Ibid 499.
400.

5. Memorial History of Boston

elaborate and ambitious style. Fleet perhaps was not so brilliant a writer, but he was original and witty,¹ and the magazine under him maintained its high character. Its columns were always open to talented writers, and the editor's purpose was "the entertainment of the Polite and Inquisitive Part of Mankind".

Boston was not the only town in which the newspapers developed in this way. The Charleston Gazette contained "social and moral essays" after the model and style of those in the Spectator and the Rambler.² The annual almanacs that were published from Virginia northward in all the colonies gave opportunities for the same kind of writing. Some of them had considerable literary merit.³ The almanac of Ames spoken of before is a conspicuous example. He had the instinct of a journalist, and his original articles, verse and prose, are sprightly and vigorous.

Before the revolutionary period there was practically nothing produced in America that could survive for its mere literary quality. There are three possible exceptions, however, to this general statement. The first are the writings of William Byrd of Virginia. He was a man of affairs and not a litterateur primarily, but the accounts that he has left in the form of diaries or journals, or three rather extended expeditions, have extraordinary merit. They reflect what he himself was, a genial, talented, cultured English gentleman.⁴ His style is simple and easy like the English literature of his day. This came about naturally from his extensive reading. He is witty and forceful but has not sacrificed refinement.

John Woolman, a Pennsylvania Quaker, has been remembered for his opposition to slavery, but he has not been generally recognized among early American writers. He has left a diary, however, that is of such literary merit to deserve notice. Charles Lamb is said

1. Ibed 402.

2. McCrady 507.

3. Tyler II. 121.

4. Tyler II. 271.

to have advised young authors, "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart". Another author pronounced the diary as "beyond comparison the purest and sweetest auto-biography in the language".¹

The third and usually the only acknowledged exception is Franklin's Auto-Biography. It was not written until the provincial period was past, but the author is distinctly a colonial product and his literary style of which the Auto-Biography is merely the most famous example, was formed fifty years before. When only about fifteen he read the third volume of the Spectator. The clear, easy style delighted him and he resolved to imitate it. He worked at it faithfully, noting the ideas, and then trying to develop them as clearly as they were in his model.² He tried various expedients, such as turning the essays into verse, and then into prose of his own. This steady drill, to emulate the work of the great English essayists was the basis of Franklin's lucid, pleasing style.

Scientific Activity: Great impetus was given during the closing years of the seventeenth century to scientific investigation. The work of Boyle in chemistry, of Newton in physics, and of Ray in botany mark the genesis of modern study in those subjects. The Royal Society, dating from 1662, did much to encourage work along all these and other scientific lines. Largely through John Winthrop of Connecticut, the interest which the establishment of the Society aroused in England was carried to New England. Winthrop himself was a member and when the Society was incorporated was invited to become "its chief correspondent in the West".³ As long as he lived he was an interested worker for the society, sending it scientific specimens and contributing a number of papers. His son Fitz-John Winthrop was

1. Richardson 150.

2. Auto-Biography 74.

3. Tyler II. 311.

also a Fellow of the Society,¹ though not so renowned a scientist as his father.

The study of physical science seemed to be very common in New England, though it was done only in an observational way. Increase Mather formed a society² among the Boston Schools for the study and investigation of natural history. Thomas Prince was fond of scientific study, but he did not devote himself seriously to it. Thomas Brattle, a Boston merchant,³ was a liberal patron of letters and learning. He was interested in science and wrote two papers on astronomical subjects which were published in the Transactions of the Society. Jonathan Edwards when a student at Yale made an extensive set of notes intended for the basis of a book⁴ on physics and astronomy. His observations contained original suggestions, but he devoted himself so exclusively to metaphysics that he did nothing further in natural science.

After John Winthrop, the first man in New England to do much in science, was Paul Dudley.⁵ He was a man of great erudition for besides being a naturalist, he was an accomplished lawyer and something of a theologian. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, elected perhaps before he returned to America in 1702, and wrote twelve papers that were published in the Transactions. These papers show how versatile he was, for they are upon every kind of subject.

Cotton Mather was interested in science, as a matter, of course. A paper of his, *Curiosa Americana*, was read before the Royal Society, and he was informed by the secretary (1713) that he was to be elected to membership.⁶ He immediately planned to set on foot among the members such "studies as may be for general Benefit, and

1. *Ibid* 312. 2. Memorial History of Boston 412. 3. *Ibid* 421.

4. Tyler II., 185. 5. *Ibid* 351, 427.

6. Wendell, Life of Mather 244.

hitherto have been but little prosecuted". Nothing ever came of his plans unless it was his own book published in 1721, *The Christian Philosopher; a Collection of the best Discoveries in Nature with Religious Improvements*. In this he explained the latest facts and theories in astronomy, meteorology, physics, zoology, and ethnology, and really showed a large and minute acquaintance with these subjects.

As a matter of fact, there is considerable doubt whether Mather was ever really elected to the Royal Society. He certainly thought he had been and signed himself accordingly. He evidently received the Transactions of the Society for he read in them the accounts of inoculation in the orient. Whether he was, or was not a member, the fact remains that he was an ardent student of science, though all in his own pedantic way.

A very different type of scholar was John Winthrop of the Massachusetts family, or John Winthrop of Harvard as he was familiarly called, because for forty years he was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at that college. For extent and depth of learning in his special departments he was unexcelled, and besides he was thoroughly versed in history, literature, theology, languages, and politics. His life was given to research and oral teaching, yet he wrote a number of small volumes upon scientific subjects, called forth by such phenomena as earth quakes, comets, and meteors.

"All things considered he was probably the most symetrical example both of scientific and literary culture produced in America during the colonial time; a thinker and a writer born and bred in a province, but neither in thought nor in speech provincial; an American student of nature, who stayed at home, and bringing Europe and the Universe to his own door, made himself cosmopolitan."¹

Great interest in gardening² was aroused in England by William III. This enthusiasm led in time to the discovery of new ways of doing things and the methods of agriculture were improved. The

1. Tyler II. 315

2. Lecky I. 567.

Rev. Jared Eliot F.R.S.¹ of Connecticut was interested in such questions and after his extensive travel in Europe brought back the best practices of good agriculture that the Old World afforded. One of them was the sowing of clover for the recuperation² of impoverished soil. In 1748 Eliot published an essay on Field Husbandry in New England, and during the next quarter century, the applicants for masters' degrees at Harvard in seven different years had their theses in the general subject, "Is Agriculture a greater benefit to the Country than Commerce", answering always in the affirmative.

The enthusiasm for gardening aroused by William III. also led to the introduction of many new species of plants and trees from the Indies and from America. This, of course, furthered the interest in botany that the work of John Ray had aroused.² The new forms of vegetation interested the settlers coming to America, they sent specimens back to England, and so those of kindred minds in the two countries were kept in communication.

John Banister was the earliest botanist enthusiast in America. He was an English clergyman who came out to the West Indies and then on to Virginia. In 1680 he sent to John Ray A Catalogue of the Plants of Virginia, and upon his death (about 1700) he left unfinished a natural history of that colony. Some papers of his are contained in the Transactions of the Royal Society although he was probably not a member.

John Clayton, a physician and a botanist, was in Virginia from 1706 to 1773. He enlarged Banister's catalogue of Plants, contributed papers to the Transactions and was in correspondence with Linnaeus and Gronovius. Almost contemporary with him was another physician, John Mitchell, F.R.S. He published a treatise upon botany which he sent abroad to prominent men and to learned societies,

1. Weeden II. 688.

2. Lecky I. 369.

together with botanical specimens.

The distinguished Alexander Garden,¹ already mentioned, was another devotee of botany. He made extended trips into the remoter parts of South Carolina to study vegetation and gave all his spare time to the study. He was recognized as a scholar by Linnaeus who in his classification named a shrub in the doctor's honor, *Gardenia*. In 1772 he was elected Fellow in the Royal Society, and after his return to England he was one of the Council, and later one of its vice-presidents.

All things considered, perhaps, John Bartram, the Quaker naturalist, was the greatest of American botanists. Without Garden's advantages to begin upon, he worked and studied patiently and was pronounced by Linnaeus, "the greatest natural botanist in the world".² He founded at his home near Philadelphia the first botanical garden in America. He made two extended trips upon scientific explorations; one in 1743 north through Pennsylvania and New York as far as Lake Ontario, and in 1763 and 6 south through the Floridas. The rare plants that he found in his travels he planted in his own botanical garden, and sent either seeds of them or fresh roots to England.

He did not write much but published a small book of narration and description upon each of his long expeditions. Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, criticized these books, saying they contained few observations, but he added that Mr. Bartram's merit should not be judged by his publications for "they contain but a thousandeth part of the great knowledge that he has acquired in natural philosophy and history."³

Two of Charleston's early physicians maintained close relations with the Mother country. Medical writings, statical experiments, and meteorological observations of John Lining's⁴ were all pub-

1. McCrady 416.

2. Tyler II. 314.

3. Pinkerton XIII.

4. McCrady 414.

lished in the "Transactions". These won for him considerable fame in Europe, and in 1753 he published an accurate history of yellow fever which was the first account of that disease in America. Lionel Chalmer's¹ was almost equally famous. He recorded extended weather observations, and sent articles to the Medical Society of London. His most valuable work was an essay in 1776 in which he unfolded the spasmodic theory of fevers.

William Byrd was a Fellow of the Royal Society, probably elected in 1695 during his first stay in England, as his good friend Sir Robert Southwell was president of the Society at that time. Byrd was a keen observer, and though not a technical scientist, his writings abound with mention of natural history phenomena. His History of the Dividing Line was in England with a friend in manuscript a number of years. Mark Catesby, the naturalist saw it and complimented it very highly.

So far as is known Byrd contributed but one article to the Royal Society, but he received and preserved the Transactions and always valued very highly his connection with the Society. In 1741 he wrote to Sir Hans Sloane, president for that year,³ "I take it a little unkindly that my name is left out of the yearly List of the Royal Society, of which I have the honor of being one of its ancient members. I suppose my long absence has made your Secretarys rank me in the number of the dead; but pray let them know I am alive, and by the help of Ginseng hope to survive some years longer".

The greatest man in the colonies in scientific pursuits was Benjamin Franklin. He was widely read in many subjects, but philosophy and physical science interested him most. Books of this character prevailed to a great extent in the Philadelphia Library⁴ of which

1. Ibid 415.

2. Writings of William Byrd LXXIX.

3. Ibid XLVIII.

4. Franklin's Auto-Biography

he was an important controlling factor. During his first visit to England he had met some prominent men¹, and in the Junto Club scientific questions were often discussed.

Franklin's name is inseparably connected with his great discoveries in electricity. He first became interested in electricity in 1746 upon seeing some experiments by a Dr. Spence², lately arrived from Scotland. Then, or within a year or two, he purchased Dr. Spence's apparatus and about the same time the Library company received from their good friend Peter Collinson, a glass tube and directions how to use it in making experiments. Franklin repeated those that he had seen Dr. Spence perform at Boston and devised others. People in general became interested, and a Mr. Kimmersley procured some apparatus and went throughout the country, showing experiments and delivering lectures prepared by Franklin. The latter continued his experiments diligently, keeping his friend Collinson, himself a scientist of some note, closely informed of his progress. Finally, his experiments culminated in the famous key and kite experiment and "the lightning was chained". The Royal Society at once elected him to its membership and besides awarded him the Copley gold medal³ for his special achievements.

The subject of inoculation for small-pox is a phase of scientific development and was the subject of much discussion in both England and the colonies. The practice was introduced into England⁴ in the second decade by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had become familiar with it⁵ during her residence in Adrianople. But even then it was not commonly practiced in England for a number of years. As early as 1713 a Greek physician had communicated to Dr. Woodward an

1. Ibid 89-90.

2. Ibid 276.

3. Auto-Biography 280, Gentle-

man's Magazine 53:587.

4. Palfrey IV. 414.

5. Letters of Lady Montagu I. 308, 352, 461.

account of the success of inoculation or ingrafting in the East.¹ The account was printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society but no further notice was taken of it.

Cotton Mather in America, read it and stored it up in his capacious memory. When small-pox began to spread in Boston early in 1721, he recorded in his diary², May 26, "The practice of conveying and suffering the small-pox by Inoculation has never been used in America, nor indeed in the Nation. But how many lives might be saved by it----- I will---consult our physicians, and lay the matter before them". He at once sent letters and reprints of the account in the Transactions to the medical men of Boston, but they did not respond, so he communicated personally with Dr. Zabdiel Boylston.

This open-minded man was convinced that the plan was well-worth trying, and accordingly inoculated his servants and children. The practice, on the whole, had good results from the start. Still there was tremendous opposition to it. The one newspaper, the News-Letter boldly upheld Boylston, but the New England Courant started with its chief object to oppose the whole practice. William Douglass, a Scotch physician denounced Mather and Boylston most bitterly and was probably one of the anonymous contributors to the Courant. Robert Calef³ who had condemned the Mathers severely for their stand in the witch craft trials now upheld them just as strongly. Benjamin Colman⁴ also threw his influence for inoculation.

The controversy waged hotly for about two years and then died down. The practice was generally considered beneficial in Boston, as Thomas Prince took pains to show with carefully gathered statistics.⁵ Dr. Boylston was regarded as an authority on the subject of

1. Palfrey IV. 414.
History of Boston 421.

2. Life of Mather
4. Ibid 422.

3. Memorial His-

5. Gentleman's Magazine 53 : 414.

inoculation and when he visited England in 1725, he was received with great honor and elected Fellow of the Royal Society.

Fine Arts: In the barbaric conditions in which the first American settlers found themselves they paid little attention to the finer things of civilized life. But by the middle of the eighteenth century they were beginning to cultivate the fine arts. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby of England visited America in 1759-9. He landed in York, spent several months in Virginia and then travelled northward, visiting all the colonies except Connecticut. He kept a faithful account of his journeys and his general impressions. Of nearly every colony he made some such remark as, "The progress of the arts and sciences has been very inconsiderable", or, "The arts and sciences are yet in their infancy".

At the same time he commended the schools and libraries that had been established, and was hopeful that those institutions would effect great improvements. Philadelphia and Boston were the two towns for which he could say a little more. Of the former he wrote, "some few persons have discovered a taste for music and painting. Philosophy has made considerable progress and is daily gaining ground". In Boston, "The arts and sciences have made greatest progress there, the public buildings are more elegant, and there is a more general turn for music, painting and the belles-letters".

The Carolinas were not visited by Burnaby. North Carolina would probably have fallen lower in his estimation than Rhode Island, while Charleston would have risen to the plane of Boston and Philadelphia. To be sure, the southern city had no University but many of her people went abroad for their educations, and there were pri-

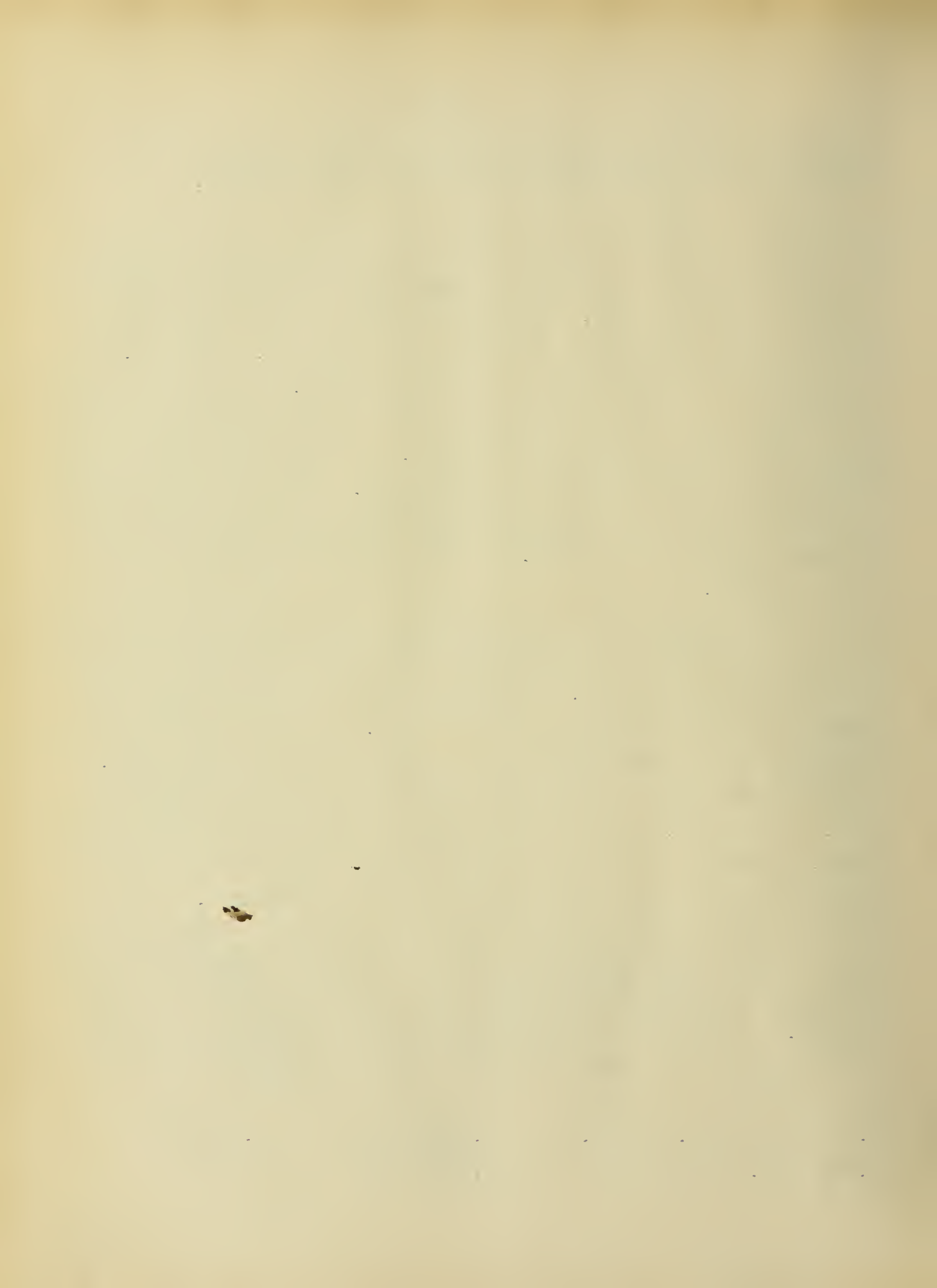
1. Pinkerton XIII. 701-52.

2. Ibid. 714.

3. Ibid. 730.

4. Ibid. 731.

5. Ibid. 747.



vate teachers in the colony. St. Cecilia's Day was celebrated in that city in 1737 and a permanent St. Cecilia Society was organized¹ as a result. Music had been taught in the colony even before that, and by the middle of the century instrumental lessons were given on the harpsichord, spinet, violin, violin-cello, the guitar and the flute.

Still as Burnaby observed the arts were only in their infancy. Smibert was the only man in the colonies down to the end of the provincial period to devote himself to painting.² He was an English artist whom Berkeley had met in Italy and had persuaded to accept the Professorship of Fine Arts in the prospective Bermuda College.³ After Berkeley returned to England Smibert settled permanently in Boston where he worked chiefly in painting portraits for the wealthy merchant aristocracy. Still he furnished some inspiration for the native painters, Copley and West who come into prominence during a later period.

There were probably some few isolated pictures that were really good. Burnaby⁴ discovered ~~some~~ in New Jersey, "some portraits of Van Dyke and several small Dutch paintings". Such instances as these were probably exceptional.

There was no sculpture in the provincial times, and scarcely any ornamental architecture. Eliza Lucas pronounced St. Phillip's⁵ Church in Charleston very elegant. Burnaby commented upon the public buildings in the colonies he visited but found little to commend. King's College when finished he thought would be "exceedingly handsome"⁶, and King's Chapel, Boston, "fitted up in Corinthian taste" he declared "exceedingly elegant".⁷ The Redwood Library building was of

1. McCrady 528.

2. Frazer 189.

3. Ibid. 153.

4. Pinkerton XIII. 734. 5. Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas 17.

6. Pinkerton XIII. 737.

7. Ibid 740.

the pure Doric order and he judged it, "by no means inelegant"¹.

Social Customs: The first generation after the Restoration in England saw a violent re-action from the strictness of the Puritan regime. The excesses wore themselves out in time but before they did so their influence had reached even America. A little earlier, during the Commonwealth, a considerable number of Cavaliers had emigrated to the New World, settling particularly in Virginia. Social conditions in that colony were very bad at the close of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The church itself was on a low plane, the ministers often being of the lowest and most corrupt class of men. In spite of such a state of affairs the social life in Virginia presented a bright side even as early as 1722. Williamsburg, the capital and social center, was very gay at certain seasons. The several good families that lived there dressed and behaved "exactly as the gentry in London"². When the Assembly was in session the planters came into the town and there were parties, balls and entertainments of all kinds. Hugh Jones said there were as splendid entertainments in Gov. Spotswoods time as he had ever seen anywhere.³

New England, on the other hand, had maintained her strict Puritanism entirely intact until the beginning of the royal regime. Then the later English customs began to creep in gradually, but they were so steadily opposed by the older and more conservative Puritans, that any change in the city as a whole was very slow. Around the royal governor, to be sure, there was in time a little bit of social life that resembled a miniature court⁴, and at King's Chapel there was a State-pew with canopy and drapery.⁵ The establishment of the

1. Ibid 740.

2. Present State of Virginia 32.

3. Ibid 31.

4. Memorial History of Boston 86.

5. Ibid 92.

Anglican Church meant too, the observance of church days, celebration of Christmas and many customs hitherto unknown in Boston. Samuel Sewall always noted these in his diary with regret¹ and considered them evidence that simplicity and morality were on a rapid decline.

Those manners and customs that were not felt to belong to the Anglican Church were more readily accepted in Boston. Moreover, the younger generation were more tolerant and by the middle of the century there was a broader spirit and a more cosmopolitan atmosphere in the town. Even as early as 1720 Daniel Neal had written that "in Dress, Tables, and Conversation, they affect to be as English as possible; there is no Fashion in London, but is to be seen in Boston"². Thomas Amory about the same time said of Boston that it was "a fine place of great trade and good conversation"⁴, and, "people live handsomely here without fear of anything"⁵. Still Boston remained a Puritan city with Puritan characteristics. Burnaby⁶ summed up his impressions of the people as follows- "The character of the inhabitants-----is much improved, in comparison of what it was; but Puritanism and a spirit of persecution is not yet totally extinguished. The gentry are hospitable and good-natured; there is an air of civility in their behavior, but it is constrained by formality and precisions".

Rhode Island was not a Puritan colony and the Narragansett planters maintained a society similar to the English country gentlemen⁷ from whom they were descended. The fox chase and fowling were favorite sports. And there were races, pleasure excursions, and festivities of all kinds.

1. Sewall Diary¹ 167, 368.

Chapter 14.

ies II. 53.

6. Pinkerton XIII. 747.

2. Present State of New England II.

3. American History by Contemporaries

4. Weeden II. 554. 5. Ibid 565.

7. Frazer 158-9.

Smith in his history of New York, 1756 speaks of clubs, concerts, assemblies and other entertainments. The women are spoken of as comely; dressing well, and not to be charged with the practice of gaming, and then, "We follow the London fashions, though by the time we adopt them, they become disused in England".

Burnaby spoke most highly of the social life in Philadelphia and particularly commended the women, saying they "are exceedingly handsome and polite, and without flattery, many of them would not make bad figures even in the first assemblies in Europe".

William Byrd wrote to a London friend, "we that are Banished from those Polite Pleasures (London society) are forced to take up with rural entertainments. A Library, a Garden, a Grove, and a Purling Stream are the Innocent Scenes that Divert our Leisure". This might all be true of life on the plantations, but the scenes in Williamsburg described above by Hugh Jones in 1724 were just the same, or more elaborate by the end of the provincial period.

As South Carolina was on more intimate terms with England than were most of the colonies, the social life in Charleston was nearer that of London. The Carolinas were fond of British manners even to excess. Tailors and milliners came from England and brought English fashions with them. The organization of the household was English with the few necessary changes for local conditions. Such sports as deer-hunting and horse-racing were carried on in the good old English style. During the summer when the planters flocked into Charleston, concerts and public balls were very common. Eliza Lucas Pinkney who had lived in both the West Indies and in England, in her letters always mentioned Charleston as a "gay" or a "polite" place, and the people as "agreeable", "genteel", or "much to the English taste".

1. Valentine 303.

2. Ibid 302.

3. Pinkerton XIII. 721.

4. Writings of William Byrd LXXX.

5. McCrady 513-25.

6. Journal and Letters of Eliza Pinkney 6, 17, 24.

The theater played an important part in the social life in England, and it was not wanting in America. In Charleston it was much patronized and was an important institution.¹ The earliest date of the theater in that city is not known, but the new theater was opened in 1735. The current English plays were presented as the newspapers show. The Orphan (1680) was played in 1735 and Addison's Cato (1717) in 1737. In May, 1774 a complete list of the fifty-eight plays presented between December 22nd, and May 23rd, was printed. The list included ten of Shakespeare's plays and such others as the Beggar Opera first played in England in 1728, The Mourning Bride 1697, West Indian Fair Penitent 1703, and She Stoops to Conquer, 1773. This city, so far as the theater is indicative, was surely living the contemporary English life.

Charleston, however, is only one city. In no other part of the country was there a similar state of affairs. True, Hugh Jones mentioned a play-house in Williamsburg,² and Burnaby met a company of strolling players in Marlborough, Maryland. He visited their play-house and found it "a neat, convenient tobacco-house, well-fitted up for the purpose". But the first permanent theaters in the other leading American cities were not established until much later than that in Charleston. Philadelphia, Annapolis, and New York opened their first theaters in 1755. In conservative New England the theater did not come until later,³ for although the Orphan was performed in Boston in 1749, the next year a law was passed forbidding such performances and fining both spectators and actors heavily.

1. McCrady 526-8.

2. Present State of Virginia 31.

3. Palfrey V. 219

Chapter III.

From the English side: The discussion so far has been largely from the colonial point of view. It will be necessary also to find out the attitude of England toward the colonies and how much of a place they occupied in her attention. Although the colonies were political dependencies of England and most of them were governed by officers appointed by the crown, England really knew but little of them. Hugh Jones gave as one reason for his writing his book that "few People in England (even many concerned in public Affairs of this kind) have correct Notions of the true State of the Plantations".¹ This is not to be wondered at. Conditions in America were utterly different from what they were accustomed to and they could not really apprehend what they did hear of the New World. Moreover, during the second quarter of the century the government, or the Duke of Newcastle who had charge of colonial affairs, consistently pursued a policy of ignoring communications from the colonies. The invasions of the French, did not effectually arouse the government.² Walpole himself seemed to consider it a bore that the English colonists disputed with their French neighbors on boundary questions. He said neither side could occupy a twentieth part of the territory contended for, and that the titles of either nation to the country were mere pretensions.³ In the technical treatises upon trade and commerce the colonies were mentioned, and the necessity of preserving the colonial trade is urged but that is all that was said.

The Gentleman's Magazine was first issued in 1731 and in it there are found a constantly increasing number of references to America and colonial affairs. Few of them, however are of such a nature as to be considered evidence of intellectual contact between the two countries. The strife in several of the colonies between their Assemblies and the royal governors was sometimes discussed at con-

1. Present State of Virginia. 1.
of George III. 397

2. Walpole Memoirs of the Reign

3. Ibid 394.

siderable length¹. There were articles that narrated the importance of the colonies to England and warn of the dangers from France² and Spain³. New England was commended for the capture of Louisburg⁴ and Thomas Prince's sermon of thanksgiving upon the victory was printed in full⁵.

Those who were interested in colonization used the magazine as a means of advertising their projects⁶. Among the lists of books published between 1731 and 1745 there were eleven that had to do with the colonies. Of these several were of such a nature that they too suggest colonization schemes. Some were descriptive of the natural features of the country and others were historical. New maps of parts of the country were also advertised for sale. There was more or less written about America, but most of it seems to have been advertising it for exploitation.

There was some correspondence between literary men of the two continents but this was very limited and among the literary people of the time America scarcely figured at all. The authors of the Spectator and the Tatler regarded it as a far away place, a suitable location for a fanciful story⁷. The people in England were always curious about the American Indians. Their customs, therefore, were timely subjects of two papers⁸. America furnished many new products to England and these were commented upon, particularly tobacco⁹¹⁰.

Dean Swift made, if anything fewer references to America than did Steele and Addison. A few scattered comments are to be found upon the state of religion in the plantations¹¹, curious customs

1. Gentleman's Magazine 1:87 - 132 - 218. 25:243, etc, etc.
2. Ibid 5:714 3. Ibid 9:32. 4. Ibid 15:419 - 22, 649.
5. Ibid 18:78, 105-7. 6. Ibid 2:886, 969 etc. 25:409-12
7. Tatler I. No. 4 and Spectator V. 8. Ibid III. No. 339 and Spectator V. No 56. 9. Spectator V. 10. Spectator ^{IX} 14:329.
11. Works of Swift VIII. 338.

there¹, and Great Britians kindly colonial policy. In the spring of 1709, however, he wrote two letters to Robert Hunter then a prisoner in Paris in which he urged Hunter to "make haste over and get me my Virginia bishopric"², and "Friends do not recognize my merits sufficiently to keep me here." All my hopes now terminate in my bishopric of Virginia"³. Three years later Hunter was governor of New York and wrote to Swift that he had purchased a seat for a bishop and offered the place to him. Swift does not seem to have responded. It appears as though for the time being he was piqued at something in England and anxious to get away. When Berkeley was agitating his plan of a Bermuda College Swift did not show any particular interest in the project.⁴

Many people in England generously seconded the efforts of Thomas Bray and Bishop Berkeley. The money contributed, however, was given as charity, or on account of the personal popularity of the collectors. It cannot be taken as evidence of any wide spread knowledge of American conditions or even of a general interest in them.

Science is always anxious to hear about new phenomena and to investigate them. The Western Continent in itself was a wonderful novelty and everything about it was of interest to scientific men. John Ray published in the second volume of his History of Plants, the Catalogue of the Plants of Virginia that Banister had sent him. A good many papers upon plants and animals in American and upon natural phenomena were contributed to the Royal Society, and printed in their Transactions. Naturalists, however, were not content only to learn of America in that way, so some came to study at first hand. In those times botany was only gradually gaining place as a separate science and was still studied for the most part only by doctors.

1. Ibid XI. 35.

2. Ibid XII. 139.

3. Ibid

4. Frazer 102.

The physicians who came to Virginia and to South Carolina and who gave a great deal of their time to the study of plants have been noted.

There is one English scientist who studied the natural history of America but who has not been mentioned. This is Mark Catesby. He was in the New World from 1710 until 1719 and again 1722 to 1726. Upon his return he published a Natural History of the Carolinas and the Bahamas. This history included both animals and plants and was embellished with many colored plates. Extracts and cuts from this work were sometimes made in the Gentlemen's Magazine.¹ His work was considered very good and people were interested in it.

Not only did the Royal Society print articles sent over by colonists, but the Gentleman's Magazine which was of a general or popular nature did also.² Thomas Prince compiled statistics upon the practice of inoculation in Boston and showed that it was more generally practiced and more successful there than in England. The editor commented at the close of the article that the mother might be instructed by the daughter in that instance. Meteorological statistics and observations sent over by the colonists were also printed.³ In 1753 John and William Bartram sent over seeds of one hundred different kinds of trees, and a list of the varieties of trees was published in the Magazine.⁴ The account stated the seeds were sent to "their correspondents" as though the Bartrams were in regular communication with some one in England. It might have been the Royal Society or just some private individual.

England not only printed the colonial articles upon science or natural history as the term then was, but she gave some men from the colonies still further recognition. A number have been noted upon whom was bestowed the honor of membership in the Royal Society,

1. Gentleman's Magazine 19:207, 446. 20:30. 22:300, 364, 474.

2. Ibid 53:414. 3. Ibid 53:121. 35:329.

4. Ibid 24:65.

than which in the scientific world, there was no greater honor. Lining and Garden of South Carolina were somewhat famous in a scientific way and John Bartram was highly commended by Kalm, and made American botanist to George ¹III.

Most of the scientific matter contributed by America to the Old world was descriptive information, based upon pure observation. The colonies produced one man, however, who really added some new knowledge to the world. This was Benjamin Franklin whose wonderful discoveries in regard to electricity influenced not only England, but all of Europe. In fact, Franklin was famous in France ²before England seemed to comprehend the greatness and meaning of his discovery. Franklin had kept his friend Collinson informed of his experiments as they progressed. Collinson was a member of the Royal Society and sent ^{the} letters to it but they were not deemed worthy of publication. A paper Franklin wrote on the Sameness of Lightning with Electricity and sent to the Society through another friend, Dr. Mitchell, was laughed at by the members. Still another friend, Dr. Fothergill, heard of the letters and papers and interested himself in having them published in a pamphlet ³. Additional letters and papers were added to it from time to time until it became a quarto volume which had five editions.

At first, however, it was little noticed in England. Count de Buffon of Paris became interested in it and had it translated to French. The new theories set forth by Franklin were opposed by some conservatives, but the book was also translated into Italian and German ⁴ and the doctrine it contained was by degrees universally adopted by the philosophers of Europe. In the meantime, England was brought to a realization of the greatness of the man whom she seemed

1. Tyler II. 314.

2. Franklin's Auto-Biography 278.

3. Ibid 278.

4. Ibid 279.

to ignore. An English physician then at Paris wrote home to the Royal Society of the high esteem in which Franklin was held in France. The Society reconsidered his communications. They were summarized and printed in the Transactions, accompanied by an eulogy upon the author. His experiments were verified and the Society honored him by election to its membership and presented him with the Copley Medal besides. From that time on Franklin was known and honored throughout the world.

General Conclusion: Nominally, there was close political connection between England and America, but the wholesome neglect pursued for the most part by the British government permitted the colonies to gain much from their intercourse with England and yet to develop naturally and independently. During the period there was a growing demand for books and schools, evidencing on the part of the colonists a craving for intellectual life. They looked to England for suggestion and encouragement, and many generous hands were held out to help them. In one sense all intellectual life in America was a reaching out toward or a contact with England, but the point is, was there direct transfer of thought and was there immediate contact. In considering such a question the fact must be borne in mind that in the eighteenth century there were not the multitude of books and papers there are now, and that means of communication were very much slower indeed. Making due allowances for such conditions, an effort will be made to sum up the facts that have really indicated intellectual contact.

In matters of social custom the colonists for the most part followed England as closely as they could in their different environment. By the middle of the century the social institutions in some of the provincial towns had reached an elegance that compelled acknowledgement from English travellers. In fine Arts the colonies did nothing, but England herself was preëminently a commercial and

industrial nation; and even the closest intercourse with her would not have been very inspirational for the colonies in sculpture, music, and in painting.

Education in America followed the same lines as in England. The great object of the colleges was to fill the ranks of the ministry, and all education was largely controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities. The curricula of the institutions for higher learning consisted mostly of courses in Hebrew and the classics and in divinity, with some attention to mathematics and philosophy. The polite branches of learning were beginning to find a foot-hold, and the multiplication of newspapers did much to further education. Thus the provincials were kept reasonably well-informed upon contemporary European affairs and were influenced accordingly.

The Ancient classics and theological books predominated in all libraries, but that was not different from libraries in England. Besides there were the late authorities in Mathematics and the natural sciences, together with a fair representation of the poets and dramatists of the Restoration, the essayists of Queen Anne's reign, and in a very few instances the latest form of literature, the novel. The early American poets reflect the English school which they followed and clergymen and few other colonial writers modelled their productions upon the clear compact prose of the English essayists.

The strict intolerant Puritan spirit was replaced by a more kindly one. The transformation was gradual and though partly caused by it, was not the radical re-action of the Restoration period in England. America's one philosopher and her men of science, to a considerable extent, proceeded along the same lines as their fellow workers in England. As the scientists in the home country depended largely for their information of the New World upon the American workers, they learned to know and respect them. And finally America produced one scientist whose theories and discoveries were heralded over Europe and accepted throughout the civilized world.

In conclusion, then, the tendency, so far as conditions permitted, was for the colonies to copy after or to approach the civilization or culture, of the mother country. In all this, however, the intellectual contact between the two countries was very incomplete. Any movement in the colonies was usually at the very best almost a generation behind its counterpart in England. Besides physical conditions rarely permitted the fullest spread and development of any intellectual movement. A limited number of men were entirely cosmopolitan, and although they exerted a powerful influence they could not transform the whole. The intellectual contact then was for the most part in isolated instances and to a limited extent.

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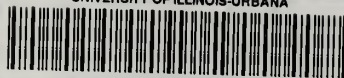
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